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II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance of 1870.

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely localized in many instances and partly identified with the figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

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778 K'tai'di, lava, is a cliff of that rock two miles below Chiloquin on
787 the left bank of Williamson river. Seekers slept on this.

Ska'mdi is an eddy in Williamson river above Chiloquin. This is a spirit place but it does not seem that they swim there.

Once I [Pat Kane] and my two brothers camped near there just before sunset. We were on our way to Klamath marsh to pick pond-lily seeds. My oldest brother started a fire while the younger fetched water. I went to tie the horses. When I returned, my brother who had been to the river said, "There are many beaver in there." We took our guns to the spot. Soon a beaver swam close to us, only a few yards away, but we could not hit it. Soon two more came swimming close by. We failed to kill these. Then five came and soon so many more that they completely filled the river. My brothers said, "We had better not stop here. Let us get away." We packed the horses and left at once. I saw the water shaking[180] and the sound of thunder. It took all night to get back. My oldest brother got sick; no shaman could cure him. He was sick all summer and in the winter he died. Neither my younger brother nor I were sick.

A man and boy were going to Klamath marsh afoot. The boy was six or seven. The man wanted to try swimming in Ska'mdi. He told the boy, "If those things bite and kill me, you go home." The man had lost his wife; the boy alone was left. "I do not want to stay here; I want to die," the man said. The boy cried to him not to swim there. He walked back from the river bank, ran and plunged in. Big animals reached up and bit him. They came up twice; then he appeared no more. The boy saw it and wept. He started home; it took all night for him to reach Bzrükse'was below Chiloquin. At this place the water boils and cannot move down the river. No one can swim there; something always bites and kills them.

SPIRITS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

776 There is hardly a mile of Klamath territory but has its mythical reference. Everywhere there are personages of the folk-tales, now transformed to rocks by Crow's laughter. Spirits are legion and in many cases are localized, so that one looking over the countryside finds it rich in religious connotation. But despite its comparative richness, Klamath religion is quite unsystematized. There are no deities and the spirits as such hardly figure in the tales. Most of the actors of the tales are not spirits and this is especially true of the principal ones. There is little suggestion of any fixed relation between such as do figure there. In other words, the Klamath lack all architectural feeling in conceiving their religious beings.

774 Spirits form a uniform class; no one of them can be said to be
• 775 especially more important than any other. Souls and ghosts are separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits. Spirits

[180] It is conceivable that an earth tremor dislodged the beaver.

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(swi'is) as we have seen are beings that live in the mountains, in river eddies, and in lakes, where they are sought by those in quest of power. Souls are personal and after death go to the land of the dead, No'lĭskăn. The soul leaves only at death; illness is not ascribed to its loss. Ghosts (skuks) wander from the land of the dead where souls have gone. It was not said that ghosts are souls in other guise nor were the ghosts referred to those of particular persons. The juxtaposition is rather like that of our own folk thought.

One word hoki's means soul, breath, and life. It is intelligible then why one of my informants said that all animals as well as men have souls. It is the quickening of life rather than spiritual personality that is implied by the word. They say of death, hoki no'tsna no'lĭskăn, the life leaves for the land of the dead. Its seat is within the heart (staii'nas); outside is the flesh (djolĕ'ks). When the body is cremated, the soul goes to the land of the dead. The flesh is destroyed; the ashes and smoke blown into the air are carried back to earth by rain, to the country of which the body is a part. Everything grows well then. But the soul never returns.[101]

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Ghosts return from the land of the dead because they want to live again. They are constantly about seeking to catch someone's soul to take to the land of the dead. (So I was told; but there was never a hint when they told me of curing that sickness is due to loss of the soul.) [753] It makes no difference that one has spirit power, his life may be taken. [761] This is most likely to happen to one in mourning as he sits alone weeping in his house at night, for ghosts usually come at night. Next day he will die. This happens commonly enough; even little boys at play see them and die at once. Shamans can discover this. Whatever they are like in the land of the dead, ghosts that return neither resemble humans exactly nor are they skeletons. Today some people talk without fear with ghosts, formerly they would have died. Possibly my informant meant by this that members of his own Shaker sect or adherents to the Ghost dance cult could talk to them with impunity, but he may have had in mind only the prohibition of the folk-tales against talking to the dead as they are being transformed to living creatures.

[114]

[101] Gatschet records an obscure statement which he interprets: "The Maklaks [Klamath] believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances" (1:130). The word used is however skuks, ghost. I received no information of this sort.

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775 763 Last month an old woman, who was very sick, was left alone. As she lay there she saw ghosts. They caught her; she died. When her children returned she was dead. Her daughter and grandson rubbed her chest to revive her. She was soon restored except that one ear, which the ghosts had touched, was "closed." Her daughter asked, "What is the matter?" She answered faintly, "The ghosts caught me." Today she can barely talk; her sight and hearing are gone.

775 787 A Klamath Falls man met a ghost on the trail. It was short and had long white nails on hands and feet. The ghost said, "Let us trade nails." The man said that he could not take his off. The ghost said, "I can pull them out," and exchanged nails with him. The man went home with the long nails and went to bed. When he woke, he looked at his hands and feet, but he had his own nails again.

The same man saw ghosts dancing at the cremation place on the hill east of Link river (Klamath falls). He watched them dance all night. They gave him a pipe to smoke. Then they threw firebrands at him and he ran away.

About ten years ago I [Pat Kane] had been swimming in the river. I was returning to my home with some horses when I heard crying. I saw an immense fire at the cremation place on lower Williamson river. Men, women, and children were wailing there. I held my hat over my face and did not listen. I did not tell my wife. For three or four days I was sick, so I went into the sweat-lodge. Later I went down there but found no signs of a recent fire.

576 The names of the dead are mentioned rather freely, but no one likes to name his own relatives or hear another do so. In fact, such a reference is insulting. But this is not due to any fear of the dead; it is rather a matter of taste.

775 The land of the dead, No'lïakăn,[182] lies in the west, the sunset. Everyone goes there. It was created by the culture hero, Kĕmŭ'kŭmps, who made the humans that figure in the tales (called psaudi'was) and ordained that they should go to this land when they died. Nothing is said of the road thither but the characteristics of the land and its people are tolerably well conceptualized.

Everything in the land of the dead is inverted from this living world. The ghosts sleep by day and live at night. In the day there is nothing to be seen but their houses and skeletons. At sundown they are clothed with flesh again; they rise and build fires. They dance through the night to fall asleep when dawn breaks. They feed on swan's eggs and perhaps they do not eat them in the manner of humans, since a tale suggests that Kĕmŭ'kŭmps is fed in the manner of the ghosts; the eggs are thrown at him. Further, the eggs are [825] unnatural in that they are hot.[183] So far as the Klamath are concerned, swan's eggs themselves are mythical, for while swans cross

[182] I suggest that the word means, literally, land of the departed; compare no'tana, departed for ——; nutsnots, soul leaves; teŏ'kăn, service berry land; na'stikan, country of the Shasta.

[262] [183] Perhaps the Klamath do not eat eggs at all. I neglected to inquire.

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the Klamath country in the winter, they never nest there. The eggs can be gathered only in bottomless baskets. The ghost's elks are water-bugs to mortal eye, and the flesh that they take is in reality bone. All their possessions are things that were destroyed with the dead, houses, baskets, beads, etc. Their hospitality also provokes them to throw firebrands at their visitors. Perhaps the very fact that Kɛmŭ'kŭmps is called out of his name by them in a tale is an attempt at inversion.

776

There is a wide variety of spirits from whom power is sought, animals, birds, reptiles, fish, natural phenomena, and a handful of anthropomorphic and purely mythical beings. The animals, etc., are not individuals of living species, but mythical beings, either immensely large or very small. Such anthropomorphic spirits as are definitely conceptualized are also tiny. Although they speak of all of these as individuals—they say for example that a man's spirit is Weasel or it is Wĭle'ɛ̨ak, dwarf old woman—nevertheless there remains the suspicion that they are rather genera, for the same named spirit is described as dwelling in several localities and belonging to several shamans at the same time.

776 825

The number of spirits is indefinitely large; the following partial list is made up from various data given by my informants. The animals include grizzly and black bears, wolf, coyote, dog, mink, weasel, and fisher (ƚwa'lk̨ŏtcka). The birds are the horned owl, bald eagle, golden eagle, fish hawk, a smaller hawk (tcĭ'ktu), a little hawk (wĭ'tgŏtgis), falcon, crow, magpie, buzzard, pelican, red and white shitepokes, butterball duck, a small sea gull (k!ŏtya'was), flicker, prairie chicken, an unidentified black bird (năo'lĭns), a blue and brown one (gau'wi), and a tiny speckled bird (djĭske'gɛ). In the fish and reptile class are the rattlesnake, a big speckled sluggish snake (wŭ'mɛnŭks), lizard, frog, a water snail (k!awi's), salmon, and trout. It is obviously the predatory animals that are chosen, with the omission of the cat tribe. The bird list also includes all the birds of prey and carrion eaters. Even though the list is incomplete, there are some significant omissions, such as deer, rodents, the song birds; and most fish are absent. The two fishes included are the largest representatives in Klamath waters.

[755]

There is little suggestion of differentiation of function and power among these spirits. To be sure, it is only through certain spirits that curing and the various shamanistic tricks can be performed, but my informants never once volunteered the statement that these were especially powerful. The exception is Frog, described by Nancy Phillips

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
821 4632. Contains poison or doctor's pain inside it	+	+	◔	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	.	.	–
4633. Contains spirit (or person?) inside it	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	◔	+	–	–	◔	.	+	◔
4634. Malignant activities of whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
4635. Sickens persons with bad dreams	+	◔	◔		+	–	◔	◔	◔	◔	+	+	◔	.	+	+
4636. Puts "pain" in person	+	+	+	–							+	+	–	.	–	–
4637. Catches person's shadow or spirit	–	+	–		+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	.	–	–
4638. Causes person to have accident, die	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–
4639. Gives power for doctoring, occasionally	–	+				◔	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	.	.	–
4640. Precautions against whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+
4641. Try to hide from, dodge it	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	.	+	+
4642. Throw dirt, water at it	–	+	+		◔	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	◔	◔	◔	–
4643. Talk to it, informally	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	+
4644. Smoke when talking to it	–	+	+						+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
4645. Clap hands, stomp feet	–	+	+									–	–	.	.	–
4646. Smoke victim of whirlwind													+	+	+	–
4646a. Mourners who dream of whirlwind doctored	–	+	–				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	.	–
Rain and Storms																
4647. Nonshamanistic beliefs concerning rain	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		+	+
4648. Rolling rocks down hill causes rain				+	+	–	+	–	◔	–	–	–	–		–	–
4649. Shouting in mountains causes rain	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	(+)		–	–
4650. Sprinkles a little after funeral naturally	+	+	.		+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+		+	+
4651. Nonshamanistic measures for stopping rain	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
4652. Pinch dog's ear	–	–	◔	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4653. Old men wave lighted brands	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
4654. Flies and yellow jackets burnt	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts																
Characteristics of Ghost or Spirit																
775 4655. Visible to anyone	+	+	◔	◔	◔	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+
4656. Resembles person	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	◔	–	+	–	+	+	+
4657. Resembles skeleton, shadow, fog, or cloud	◔	–	–	–	–	–	◔	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4658. Audible to anyone	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
[756] 4659. Shamans chiefly	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4660. Wails, whistles	–	–	–	–						+	–	+	+	+	–	+
Activities of Ghosts or Spirits																
4661. Leaves body shortly before death	–	–	◔	◔			+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4662. Leaves body immediately after death	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
o4663. Leaves grave, pyre ... days after death	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	28	6	–	–	3	4	4	–
4664. Leaves pyre night of cremation	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4665. Turns back once after leaving body											+	.	–	+	–	–
4666. Retraces steps person has taken when alive													+	–	+	+
4667. Departs toward distant place	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4668. Toward west	◔	+	+	◔	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	.	–
4669. To assembly house in mountains, sky									◔					◔		◔
4670. Up to sky	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	.	–	+
4671. Along Milky Way	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	.	–	–
4672. Across water, river	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
4673. On bridge													+	+	+	–
4674. If get dizzy crossing, turn into coyote													+	+	+	–

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WP	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
4675. Door keeper at land of dead	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
4676. One destination for all	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
4677. Good and bad different destinations	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	◔	+	-	(+)	◔	-	-	-
4678. All ghosts stay on earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
4679. Doctors, bad persons	-	.	-	.	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4680. Improperly buried, burned persons	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4681. Ghosts encountered around village	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	.	-	-	+	-
4682. Ghosts encountered around cremation spot or burying place	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
4683. In air	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
4684. In whirlwind	-	+	-	-	.	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
4685. Dead visit in dreams with living	+	+	+	+	+	+	◔	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4686. Occasional dream may give person power	-	-	-	.	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-
4687. Constant dreaming of dead bad omen	-	+	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◔	◔	◔
Precautions to Keep Away Ghosts																
4688. Ghosts feared	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4689. Offerings of food, if dream of dead	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	+
4690. Ghost feast	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	◔	+	-	.	◔
4691. Eat with dog	-	-	-	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4692. Shaman hired to sing for dreamer	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	-
4693. Dreamer puts ashes, pitch on body	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
4694. Talk to ghost	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+
4695. Throw ashes toward ghost	+	◔	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
4696. Throw water toward ghost or grave	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	◔	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
4697. Bathe in plain or medicated water	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
4698. Herbs rubbed on body	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	.	+
4699. Roots chewed and spit	-	-	-	-	◔	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	-
4700. Tobacco smoked	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	.	-
4701. Burn aromatic plant	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	◔	◔	◔	◔	-
4702. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	-	-	-	-	-	◔	◔	.	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4703. Burn hair, skin	-	-	-	◔	◔	◔	-	-	-	◔	-	◔	◔	-	◔	-
4704. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4705. Hang small bow and arrow in door	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
4706. Plant, feathers hung up	-	-	-	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	◔	-	-	-
Omens																
Sneezing, etc.																
4707. Sudden sneeze sign someone talking about sneezer	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
4708. Of opposite sex	-	-	+	-	.	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4709. Relation	-	-	-	+	.	.	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4710. At a distance	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4711. Sudden sneeze sign someone thinking of sneezer	-	-	-	.	.	.	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4712. Invite such to come visit	-	-	-	.	.	.	.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4713. Ear buzzing sign someone deprecating person	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	-	-
Bird, Animal Calls as Omens																
4714. Owl call before dawn omen death, war, rain	+	+	+	◔	+	.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
4715. Robin calling after dark bad omen	-	+	+	+	-	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
4716. Magpie calling after dark bad omen	-	+	-	-	.	.	.	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MN	MF	KF	NM	NS	MV	
o4836. Number	2	-	1	-	-				1	1	1	2	-	-	-	756	
4836a. Indefinite; many	-	+	-	+	+				-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
4837. Kept outside shaman's body	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-		
4838. Kept inside shaman's body	-	-	◔	◔	-	-	-	◔	◔	◔	-	-	-	-	-		
4839. Novice acquires guardian spirit helper from natural phenomena, fauna	◔	◔	◔	◔	◔	◔	◔	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	[821]	
4840. Sun	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-		
4841. Moon	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		
4842. Wind		+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		
4843. Thunder	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-		
4844. Lightning								+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-		
4845. Fire		+	-	+		+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-		
4846. Animals, all kinds	+	+	-	◔	+	+	+	◔	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	[825]	
4847. Coyote mainly	-	-	+	+							+	+	-	-	-		
4848. Wolf, only or mainly	-	-	-	+				+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		
4849. Birds	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	(+)		
4850. Eagle				+	+		+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		
4851. Chicken hawk	+	+	-	+	+		+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		
4852. Small birds								+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-		
4853. Reptiles	+	+	-	◔	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	◔		
4854. Fish	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-		
4855. Frog	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		
4856. Favorite, best power	-	+	-	+	-	+	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
4857. Insects								+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		
4858. Ghosts or spirits	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	[775]	
4859. Doctor gets power from several guardian spirits, successively	+	+	-		+	+	+	-	+	+	+	(+)	-	-	-	775	
4860. After power from "pain" acquired											+	(+)	-	-	-	756	
4861. Guardian spirits communicate with novice	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+		
4862. Are visible to novice	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+		
4863. Are audible	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+		
4864. Can be felt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-		
4865. Give song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+		
4866. Novice, in training sings by himself	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-		
4867. Give paint		+	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-		
4868. Give dance		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-		
4869. Instruct as to paraphernalia, curing methods	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+		
4870. Novice acquires feathers, feather flags	-	◔	◔	◔	◔	+	+	-	◔	+	+	+	-	-	-		
4871. Must be kept outside house		+	+	+	◔	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		
4872. Kept in hollow tree when not in use		-	+	+	◔	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-		
4873. Novice keeps fact he has power secret	-	-	-	-	◔	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	756	
Sucking Doctors: Doctor-Making Rites																	
4874. Doctor-making rites for sucking doctors	+	+	◔	◔	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+		
o4874a. Rites last ... days and nights	(1)	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	4		
†4875. For ... nights	+	5	3	5	-	-	-	+	1	1	1	1	+	-	+		
4876. Novices assisted by older shamans	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+		
4877. Doctor dance	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	+	+	-	-	◔	-	(+)	756	
4878. Held irregularly	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	(+)	535	
4878a. Held immediately before, after vision attained	-	-	◔	◔	+	+	+	◔	◔	◔	-	-	-	-	-		
4879. After specified objects collected	-	-	◔	◔	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
+4880. Repeated yearly for ... yrs.	-	-	8	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
4881. Given in winter only	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
5071. Burned at owner's death	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5072. Diagnosis by singing, rubbing patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5073. Singing, rubbing to cure patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5074. Brushes patient	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5075. Sprinkles water from feather on patient	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5076. Sucks patient	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5077. Sprays water from mouth on patient.	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5078. Can foretell future events											+	+	+		-	-
5079. Performs in round house, at night											+	+	◔	◔	-	-
5080. Spirit comes and sings in dark													+	+	-	-
Soul-Loss Doctors																
5081. Soul loss doctors recognized	-	-	-	-	+	+	◔	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5081a. Men	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5082. Women	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
5083. Is also sucking doctor	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5084. Inherit power	-	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5085. Power through vision, dream	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5086. Instructed by older shaman, or in dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	#	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5087. Shaman sucks on head, neck	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	⊖		-	-
5088. Shaman sends own soul after lost one	-	-	-	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊖		-	-
5089. Shaman sends guardian spirit to catch soul	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	⊖		-	-
5090. Shaman goes outside to coax soul back	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	◔	◔	+	-	+	.		-	-
5091. Sings	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5092. Dances	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5093. Has ... assistants	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	1	1	-	1	-		-	-
5094. Outside speaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5095. Interpreter	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5096. Spectators sing in house	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5097. Beat time with 1-2 sticks	-	-	-	-			-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5098. Doctor uses cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5099. Doctor uses bone "bull-roarer"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5100. Soul returns through fontanelle	-	-	-	-	+	-	.		-	+	-	+	⊖		-	-
Weather Shamans																
5100a. Weather shamans recognized	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	◔	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5101. Men mostly	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5102. Both sexes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5103. Specialized profession	-	-	-	◔	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5104. Weather shaman may also be curing shaman	+	+	-	◔	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5105. Office inherited	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5106. Knowledge acquired by instruction	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-		-	-
5107. Supernatural experience required	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5108. Make rain by formula, song	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5109. Sing with spectators	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5110. Smoke pipe				-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5111. Motion with hands, 4 directions											+	+	-		-	-
5112. Contortions or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-		-	-
5113. Can make fog, high winds	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5114. Make rain to remove snow	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5115. Can make rain stop	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	◔	+	+	+	-		-	-
5116. Performs whenever need arises	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5117. Paid for performance	-	-	-	◔	-	+	R	-	-	-	-	⊖	-		-	-
5118. Bets made on outcome of	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5119. Rain doctors, competing, test powers										◔	-	-	-		-	-
5120. When doctor cries, rain will ensue	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5121. At funeral	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5122. Thunders when doctor dies	◔	◔	.					+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-

821 is fire from dove, fire for driving rabbits; is pinole or piñon road, frame or back bone of sky. Rainbow: is man's penis, coyote's penis, childbirth sign; sign of dry weather, bad luck for hunting or fishing; get weak eyes from staring at. Thunder: is female, woman and 2 sons, coyote; noise explained as 2 fawns hiding in intercourse, hummingbird, eagle playing shinny, dancing, sliding on snow, sticks being beaten together, tules being broken, basket being rolled; food or water thrown out, food or water covered. Lightning: from mouth, eyes of Thunder person; from waving of ribbon, drilling, rubbing sticks, striking stones together; is fire from burning tules, birds flying fast; food, water thrown out, covered; dogs made to squeal. Whirlwind: war associated with, snake in it, wind playing; caused by charmstone; spit at to stop, offer beads to, point at, strike or pierce it with weapon; formula and bathing.

Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts

775 Spirit goes to definite underworld; to island; crosses water with boatman; rich and poor different destinations; warriors go to special heaven. Hang hopper basket, grass snare, bay leaves in door to keep away ghost.

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

787 824 Jimsonweed (Datura) root drunk to obtain vision, by group or individuals. Ant-fortitude ordeal; group or individuals swallow ants, to obtain vision.

Shamanism

756 Sucking doctors: women only; women can sicken only. Doctor-making rite held in circular brush enclosure; patient brought in for novice to cure; novice enters sweat house via exit hole, enters head first down ladder. Curing: shaman uses beads on stick, quartz crystals; brushes or fans away disease with skin; rubs Datura (jimsonweed) on eyes, drinks Datura; doctor or assistant uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper, flute. Doctor cuts before sucking; disease object sucked out through pipe. Doctor paid by installments throughout night. Sucking doctors: in competition, "bullets" shot; assistants for each contestant, performers paid; contests held at mourning ceremony only. Singing shamans: outfit bundle inherited, bought; shaman uses quartz crystals, portable mortar, charmstone; shaman dies if he loses outfit. Soul-loss doctor: is also singing shaman; uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper; mostly women. Soul recovered by snaring in noose, by refrightening patient. Weather shamans: make rain with aid of black rock, crystal,

000 4642. At: Throw water at whirlwind and tell it to run away. Whirlwind is blind. NP, NM, MS: Also wrap live coal in grass, walk 4 times around victim who has been in whirlwind, letting smoke from grass envelope him. This practice denied for MV.

4648. WM: Never roll rocks on mountains, "because dwarfs live there. When they don't like to see people in mountains, like hunters, they throw rocks at them."

4650. See also element 5120.

4652. SE: Bitch's ear.

Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts

Characteristics; activities; precautions to keep away ghosts.--

4655. SE, SW: Informants knew little about characteristics of ghosts, spirits. SW informant stated, "before Ghost dance, people didn't know anything about ghosts--what they looked like. They did dream of dead when sleeping, however. But they never said anything about a person's spirit or breath leaving his body at death." Dixon (Shasta, p. 468) states colored lights seen around cemeteries are ghosts. Both SE and SW informants stated that these reddish, white, or green lights (SE: purowan) are made by "devils" or witches, or are the witches themselves, sent by down-river peoples (Hupa, chiefly), especially novice shamans who are "practicing" to wreak ill among Shasta. Person touched by one of these lights becomes ill. They are seen sometimes near cemeteries. Down-river peoples know how to combat these "poison" manifestations, but few Shasta shamans do; SW informant's sister one of these rare persons among Shasta. SW informant narrated Orpheus myth, similar to that published by Dixon (Shasta Myths) in which Woodpecker follows wife to land of dead but is not allowed to remain there until he shall have returned to earth and died; this story telling of life after death said to have antedated Ghost dance. See elements and notes 4667, 4668. At: Ghosts only visible to shamans.

[775] 4656. WS: Headless, sometimes.

4657. Kl: Skeleton. AE: Shadow, fog, or cloud.

4661. SE, SW: See note 4655.

4663. WS: 6-7 days. NP: 3-4.

[775] 4668. Kl: Spirit goes up toward E, then travels W; as it travels it shouts, and people hear it. SW: Persons travel E after death, "toward sun--toward daylight," but ultimately stay in land in W, from whence comes night mockingbird, whom no one is supposed to bother. Dead travel in sky from E to W, along Milky Way.

4669. WM: See note 4677. NM: Shamans only. MV: Dead go to large rock assembly house (large mountain, shape of assembly house) at Marysville Buttes, where rock "elder" sits on top of assembly house. This assembly house is starting place, "headquarters," for people on their way to sky; dead stay at assembly house 4 days, then depart.

869 hear about these spots first in stories. Later
778 the parents point out the sacred sites as they pass by them. Many of the places are referred to as "doctor rocks." Children are warned never to run or play near them lest they should fall and become crippled.

869 Klamath religion is very closely associated
756 with shamanism[17] so that most of the religious attitudes acquired are directed toward shamans. Shamans are the most important, powerful, and feared individuals in the tribe. Small children are warned never to bother one, but to run and hide whenever a shaman appears, or he may cause sickness. Children are told, "There's a doctor; don't run in front of him, or he'll trip you. Don't ever look at him when he is smoking." Even the shaman's own children fear him.

861 Obedience is achieved by parents in a number of ways. They frequently scold erring children, small ones being perhaps most often threatened with some supernatural punishment for misbehavior. Whippings are not rare, but are probably never severe. A child is switched across his hands or the back of his legs with a willow switch, or the child's hair or ears are pulled. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted to unless the child has made the same mistake several times and has not heeded scoldings.

861 Obedience is also achieved by instilling in
776 the child a fear of ghosts, spirits, and other
775 supernatural beings who kidnap bad children. Owl is the most potent supernatural threat, feared by child and adult alike. When a child cries at night or is naughty, his parents threaten, "Owl will come to pluck out your eyes [539] or carry you off to a cave." If the child fails to heed the warning at first, the parents call, "Owl, come listen to this child." The effectiveness of the threat is increased by the child's knowledge of the story about a baby who was carried off by an owl to a cave near Modoc Point. The baby gradually sprouted feathers and turned into an owl. Bear and Coyote are similarly used to silence a crying child.

In the same way children are warned about ghosts who might snatch them away from the camp unless they are good.[18] Ghosts hover about the camp constantly and are especially dangerous to little ones. For that reason children are never allowed out after sundown unless accompanied by an adult. The child is told to turn his left side and raise his left arm to a ghost if he ever sees one; only in this manner can sickness be avoided.

784 Since ghosts constitute such a peril, chil-
775 dren must never go near the cremation grounds where they might contract a ghost sickness, which can be cured only by a powerful shaman. Children never attend funerals, nor are they allowed to cross the path over which a corpse has been carried.

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[17] A thorough discussion of Klamath shamanism appears, ibid., pp. 93-138.

[18] Ghosts are described in Voegelin, elements 4655-4706.

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773 genius presiding over it. This genius is called Tchitchatsχä'-ash or "Big
7K Belly;" he is represented to be an old man whose vigor of life is on the
821 decrease. When he leaves his lodge, his appearance embodies the rain-laden, dark-hued, thick nimbus clouds overhanging the earth. When his engine* comes into action, he attracts by it all the objects within reach, he oppresses the earth with his weight, and forces wayfarers to walk in other paths than they intended to travel lest they may incur danger to life. When he has spent his force by this wanton display, he is rent by a stroke of lightning or a strong gust of wind; he is dissolved into atoms, and the bones filling his big paunch, which had produced the rattling noise attending the course of whirlwinds, fall down to the ground. Tsáskai, the Weasel, the brother of Marten, wrestling with the old man and conquering him after a hard struggle, is the mythic agent who brings about his final discomfiture.

SPIRIT DEITIES.

Ἐκτέτραπαι φοβερὸν φρένα, δείματι πάλλων.

775 No people has ever been discovered that did not believe in the return
7K of human souls after death to their former homes in the form of ghosts. Ghosts or spirits hovering through space are invisible and may inflict damage to anybody without danger of being recognized; therefore they usually inspire awe and terror, and wherever the existence of these fanciful beings is recognized imagination fills the earth, the atmosphere, and the waters with such spooks. Not all of these are necessarily supposed to be the souls of the deceased, but they may also represent the souls of animals, the spirits of mountains, winds, the celestial bodies, and so forth, for animism has its widest sway in this sort of superstition. Very different qualities are ascribed to each of these hobgoblins or spooks. They are either gigantic or dwarfish in size, powerful or weak in body, attractive or repulsive, of
[787] beneficial or wicked influence. They chiefly appear at night or in stormy weather; some are seen single, others in crowds, and a few of their number

[193] * Shû'kash is the substantive of sh'hû'ka *to whirl about*, this being the medial distributive form of húka *to run about*: sh'huhóka, sh'hú-oka, sh'hû'ka "to run about by itself in various directions."

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775 776 [787] can be perceived only by the trained eye of such as are initiated into the conjurer's profession.

The classes of specters mentioned more frequently than others in mythology are the spirits of the dead, and giants, dwarfs, and fairies.

775 *The Skō'ks*, or spirits of the deceased, occupy an important place in the psychologic marvels of the Klamath Indian, and are objects of dread and abomination, feelings which are increased by a belief in their omnipresence and invisibility. The popular idea of a ghost is suggested in all climates and historic epochs by that of a *shadow* of somebody's former self, and in several Indian languages the same word is used for *shadow*, *soul*, and *ghost*.* The proper signification of skō'ks, shkū'ksh is "what comes out of;" like skó'hs, skó *spring of the year;* it is derived from skóa *to come out of, to emerge from, sprout up.*

In the mind of the Indian the appearance of a skō'ks comes pretty near the popular idea of a witch or spook as held by the uneducated classes of our population. The soul of a man becomes a skúks as soon as the corpse has been buried or consumed by fire. It hovers in the air around its former home or the wigwams of the neighbors and at night-time only. Its legs hang down and produce a rattling noise, and the whole appears in a white or a black shade of color. Usually nobody sees them, they do not harm anybody, nor do they produce any dreams; they appear to the senses and sight of the living only when they come to presage death to them. They undergo no metempsychosis into animals or plants; after hovering awhile around their former homes they retire to the spirit-land in the sky, "some- [787] where near K'múkamtch." Their arrival there is afterwards revealed by dreams to the surviving relatives, who express in songs what they have seen during their slumbers.

* In the Tonika or Túuiχka language of Louisiana télia or télia'htch signify *shadow*, *soul*, and *reflection in the water;* in the Cha'hta, State of Mississippi, shilámbish is *shadow* and *soul*, while a *ghost* is shílup. The Egyptian ka and the Greek εἴδωλον, the *soul* after death, really signify *image*, and to this we may compare the use made of the Latin *imago*. The Cherokees, as Mr. James Mooney informs me, distinguish between adánta *soul* in the living being, u"dall' secondary soul of an animal killed once before, and asgina an ordinary *specter*, *ghost* of malevolent disposition, which last term served the missionaries for transcribing the word "devil."

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775 The common belief of the Oregonians is that after death the soul travels the path traveled by the sun, which is the westward path; there it joins in the spirit-land (ē'ni) the innumerable souls which have gone the [821] same way before.* If the deceased was a chief, commander, or man of note, his "heart" can be seen going west in the form of a shooting star. The Egyptian belief was that the soul of the dead was following Atum, the sinking sun, to the west; and since then innumerable nations and tribes have adhered to the same belief.

From the Texts obtained from Dave Hill, pp. 129, 130, we learn that other abodes of dead men's spirits are the bodies of living fish. Perhaps Hill learned of this belief among the maritime and river Indians with whom he lived on the Columbia River, where the idea of fish eating corpses could suggest itself more readily than upon the lakes of the Klamath highlands. The *Notes* which I added to these curious texts give all the explanations which it is at present possible to give. It appears from them that such spirits can enter the bodies of "spirit-fish," that one skúks can see another, and that Indians, not white men, sometimes see the skúks, but at the peril of their lives. A distinction is also made between good and bad skúks, the latter being probably those who render the Indian's sleep uncomfortable by unpleasant dreams.

776 Some natural phenomena often appear to these Indians in the form of 821 specters or hobgoblins, as clouds, water-spouts, snow-storms, columns of dust, etc Noisily and rapidly they pursue their lonely path, and their gigantic, terrific frames reach up to the skies; whoever meets them unawares is knocked down senseless or killed outright, or must exchange his body for another. Some of these specters look dark on one side and light on the other.

177 In northern latitudes, where polar lights are frequently visible, they 775 are supposed by the Indians to represent the dance of the dead, and when- 821 ever Christianity is introduced among them they identify this beautiful spectacle with the last judgment, when the spirits of the deceased move about in the expectation of the coming Christ.

* Cf. Dictionary, sub voce ē'ni and Grammar, Appendix VI, p. 702. The Warm Spring Indians call the spirit-land: ayayáni. See also Texts, p. 174; 11.

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000 Meacham has given several of these concretionary products of the uncultivated Modoc mind. In making a study of aboriginal mythology and folklore such fictions must be disregarded, though they may be of interest to psychologists.

IV. Races in an undeveloped, primitive state of mind are prone to regard living animals as the abodes of spirits, and most frequently the wild and carnivorous quadrupeds are believed to harbor wicked spirits. These are either elementary spirits, or the ghosts of deceased persons. To see a spirit means death, and in their terrified state they often behold, as here, the spirit in a half human, half beastly appearance, when coyote-wolves, gray wolves, bears, cougars etc. come in sight. Such a sight can cause the instant death of the hunter, or deprive him of his reason, or make him sick for months. In Greek and Roman mythology, Pan, the Satyrs and the Fauns retain something of these primitive notions (in the panic terror etc.), though these genii were largely idealized in the later periods of national development. In every nation a relatively large amount of superstitions refers to hunting and the chase of wild beasts.

128, 9. Tanktchí'kni is in fact an adjective, not an adverb; literally, it means "those who existed, or hunted since that time", and is composed of tánk, a while or time ago, tchĕk, finally, and the suffix -ni. Cf. 13, 2. 128, 1.

Skū'ks-kiă'm.

HUMAN SOULS METEMPSYCHOSED INTO FISH.

Given in the Klamath Lake Dialect by Dave Hill.

I.

*539 ● 775 787 825

Ká-i hû'nk shlä' at kaní kiä'mat skû'kshash. Hû'k pîl únk shlä't
Not can see anybody in a fish a dead man's spirit. Dead men only can see

shkū'ks; pîl máklaks hû'k shlä't skū'ks. Hushtí'yak tsä'taks nî'sh, sî'uks
spirits; only dead Indians can see spirits. He makes dream only (about deceased) but if me, to kill (me)

tchō'k sanahō'li hûk, wakíanua shuisháltki tchä bants' gíug nûsh. Hä'toks 3
then he wants, or perhaps to keep the song-medicine because he wants me. If

nî' shläät k'läkátak nî; hä n' û'nk shläät skū'ks-kiäm, hä n' û'nk shläät
I should see (the dead), might die I; if I it should see, the spirit-fish, if I him should see

máklaks hû'nk skō'ks tchî'sh, k'lakát n' û'nk shlä-ók; wakiánua hissúnuk
the dead person the spirit also, may die I, him for having seen; or perhaps if song-medicine is applied,

tchätch nî'sh ká-i siû'gat. Hû'masht hû'nkash shlä-úkit nă'd máklaks, 6
then me not he may kill. Therefore him if should see we Indians,

hû'k tchîsh kiä'm, kat gĕk wá; ká-i hû'nk shläät hû'nkesh kiä'mat
the dead also (would appear as) a fish, which there lives; not I can see it in the fish

skókshash.
the dead man's spirit.

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II.

Kiä'm k̲'leká tchû'shni; tsúyunk hû'ksa tsóyatk pt'l kiä'm, nánuktua
Fish remain dead forever; therefore these dead (people) (exist) only as fish, as all kinds of
kiä'm, nánuktua máklaksni tsók̲atk. Hä' n' hû'nk hû'nkiash shläät skû'k-
fish, all kinds of Indians dead. If I (of a deceased) should behold the
3 shash, k̲'läkät ni hû'nk släók; hä'toks ni shuíshaltk, tchēk gíug k̲á-i
spirit, would die I it through seeing; but if I recur to magic songs, then not
siúgat nia.
he may kill me.

NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives concerning their belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success. Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating
[262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the wave, even when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill, the Máklaks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a tamánuash-dream, and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to
[755] die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns hûk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. ptl máklaks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushti'ɣak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchē'ktoks hushti'ɣa ak nish, hûk tchē'k nish síuksh shanahō'li; wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nû'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahō'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine
[756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshlá, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks ni' shläät etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] 129, 4. Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130. 1. Kiä'm k̲'leká etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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775 the souls of all dead Indians continue to exist in the living fish, in all kinds of *living*
787 fish only."
[192] 130, 2. taóɣatk. This refers to Indians who have perished by a violent death, as well as to those who died in the natural way.

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THE SPELL OF THE LAUGHING RAVEN.

[115]

GIVEN BY "CAPTAIN JIM" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I.

Shúyuɣalkshi tchúyunk É-ukshikni máklaks hátokt shuyúɣžla, túmi
At "dance-place" when the Klamath Lake people there pipe-danced, many
hûk hátokt máklaks gi. K'múkamtch hátokt a géna. Tchúi Ká-akamtch
there people were. K'mukamtch there went. Then Old Raven
shash hátokt wétanta shúyûɣalpksh, tchúi hû ktá-i k'lă'ka nánuk máklaks 3
at them there laughed when they danced, and rocks became all people
shúyukaltk hátokt.
dancing there.

II.

Yámakni hû'k Káyutchish gátpa Kt'uti kúitit; tchúyunk t'-uag
From the North Gray Wolf arrived Klati above; then he stopped
shkû'lɣa káyak tchí'sh gátpĕnunk, nánuk shûlû'tamantk hátkok yámnash 6
(and) lay down not yet home having reached, in full dress at that spot heads
(to sleep),
wáwakshnatk tchish; túla tchish hû'k gákatpantk t'uag sha hû'nk tû'kĕlɣa.
with mountains on too; together with (him) those coming stopped they (and) rested.
Tchúi Sháshapamtch hû'nk gáldsha-uyank Ké-utchiamtchash skû'lpkank
Then Old Grizzly approached Old Gray Wolf lying (and)
ktámpsh. Tchúi Sháshapamtch pálla Ke-utchíshash wákshna yámnash 9
asleep. And Old Grizzly stole from Gray Wolf the mountains heads
tchish shûlû'dshnank wû'kshɣĕn génuapkug. Tchúi Ke-utchíamtch
also, (and) put them on, to the fishing-place for going. Upon this Old Gray Wolf
sɣishû'lank ktt'ukuela Sháshapamtchash; vud'hitakuéla ktáyat pállapksh
waking up threw down hill the Old Grizzly; he rolled (him) down over the rocks for having robbed
pásh wákshna yámnash tchish. Tchúi hû'nk shíuga pí Sháshapamtchash, 12
him of mountains heads also. Then killed he the Old Grizzly.
tchúi É-ukshikni máklaks shellualtámpka Yámakishash, Sháshapamtchash
whereupon the Klamath Lake people commenced fighting the Northerners, (because) Old Grizzly
hûnk Kă'-utchishash shíugsht. Tchúi Ká-akamtch wétanta shash shél-
by Gray Wolf had been killed. Then Old Raven laughed at them when
lualpksh, ktá-i sha k'léka. 15
fighting, and rocks they became.

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism, power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer commanded the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, deliberately and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world. Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian-spirit theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated, were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of supernatural powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthropomorphic, others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams, rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and finally, the most important for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin. He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts, indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

[4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.